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ABSTRACT

A pilot study asked 94 students enrolled in introductory newswriting classes at three separate universities to evaluate 18 news stories. About half the stories concerned topics that proponents of multiculturalism have suggested would receive more emphasis if newspapers employed more women and minorities: topics such as breast cancer, divorce, abandoned babies, interracial marriages, abortions, day care, disabilities, welfare, and a contest considered racist and sexist. Using scales from "1" to "10," the students were asked to rate each story's importance, and also to indicate how likely they would be to publish it. Conclusive judgments are not possible given the limited sampling but results are suggestive nevertheless. In many cases, minorities and women did appraise differently the importance of stories and the likelihood that they would use them in the paper and play them on Page 1. Occasionally, the stories that they differed on were not overtly race or gender related, further suggesting that they were making news judgments based on a different set of life experiences. Also, this study indicated that news-ed majors differ from other communication students in their judgments about the importance of various news items. To follow up the implications of this research, similar studies should be conducted with larger samplings of professional news people and general readers. (Contains 24 notes, a listing of the 18 stories used in the study, and nine tables showing results.) (TB)

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A Pilot Study

Will More Diversified Staffs Diversify Newspaper Content?

By Fred Fedler, Ron F. Smith,

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A Pilot Study

Will More Diversified Staffs Diversify Newspaper Content?

By Fred Fedler, Ron F. Smith,
Marion T. Marzolf, and James Phillip Jeter*

Newspaper editors are trying to diversify their staffs, especially to hire more women and minorities. Some call the trend "pluralism" or "multi-culturalism."

Proponents of multi-culturalism believe that it will help newspapers broaden their definitions of news to include issues of interest to more Americans. Ideally, newspapers' coverage of those issues will help them attract and retain more readers.

But proponents of multi-culturalism seem to be operating on faith. Hundreds of articles have been written about the topic, yet it is difficult to find much empirical evidence proving the theory correct.

The theory's proponents often begin in J-schools, hiring more women and offering more scholarships, internships, and jobs for minorities. To

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determine whether that strategy will help diversify newspapers' content, this study examines the editorial decisions made by journalism students to see whether, in fact, the students' decisions vary by race and gender.

Clearly, newspapers have a serious readership problem. In 1970, 78 percent of the total adult population read a daily newspaper. By 1992, daily readership among men had fallen to 65.3%, and among women to 60.2%.[1]

Other statistics reveal the importance of the various subgroups in our society -- subgroups the media may be neglecting:

*Women make up 52% of the population.

*More than half the U.S. work force now consists of women and racial minorities.[2]

*Seventy-five percent of the population is in one or more of the overlapping groups of lesbians and gay men, minorities, and women.[3]

Although minorities make up 25% of the population, over the next decade they will be responsible for 87% of its growth. Since 1980, the percentage of blacks in the population has grown at twice the rate of whites. The percentage of Latinos has grown at almost six times the rate of whites, and the percentage of Asian-Americans has grown at more than 10 times the rate of whites.[4]

Many of those minorities are critical of the media, and David Shaw, press critic for *The Los Angeles Times*, found that their primary complaint is that minorities rarely appear in the news. Other complaints include negative stereotypes, ignorance of cultural differences, use of biased or insensitive language, unfair comparisons, and the anointing of unrepresentative and sometimes irresponsible minority spokesmen.

Critics also charge that news stories emphasize "the pathology of minority behavior -- drugs, gangs, crime, violence, poverty, illiteracy -- almost to the exclusion of normal, everyday life."[5] Stories that do show minorities in a favorable light seem limited to athletes and entertainers.[6]

The solution, most say, is to hire more minorities. *Miami Herald* publisher David Lawrence explains, "We already know that people bring different perspectives to their work, that no matter how progressive and sensitive and thoughtful it might be, a newspaper staff and management predominantly male and white cannot fully serve a genuinely diverse readership and a genuinely diverse nation."[7]

Minority journalists agree that, no matter how well-meaning editors may be, "the press will not change its fundamental approach to covering minorities and routinely include them in the mainstream of the daily news flow until there are many minority editors participating significantly in the decision-making process."[8]

Editors add that multi-culturalism is not just fair (morally and ethically correct) but a matter of necessity. "To survive," explains Cole C. Campbell of the ASNE Human Resources Committee, "we need to be as diverse as possible, with our staffs and every step of our newsroom hierarchies reflecting the racial, ethnic, cultural, and gender diversity of our communities."[9]

Several authors add that women are poor readers, not because they lack the time to read a newspaper, but because they lack the motivation. Those authors explain that daily newspapers fail to publish articles relevant to women.[10]

Several authors have identified new and more relevant issues that women might emphasize, if given more power in newsrooms: stories about sexual harassment, rape, equity in pay, child care (and abuse), battered wives, maternity leaves, women's reproductive choices, and humanist values in general.[11]

Lesbians and gays, too, want newspapers to broaden their definitions of news, and believe that the employment of more lesbians and gays would help. Issues thought to be of special relevance to lesbians and gays include: AIDS, teen suicides, hate crimes, lifestyles, civil rights, political activities, and more of the events in their communities.[12]

Still, newspapers' efforts to promote multi-culturalism encounter some resistance -- a resistance difficult to overcome when there is little evidence proving the theory's effectiveness.

Right or wrong, critics object to the media's political correctness, hiring quotas, lower standards, and "cheerleading for (and soft coverage of) favored groups."[13]

Leslie Spencer of *Forbes* magazine charges that, "...diversity doesn't bring diversity [in news coverage], it's just a kind of sex and race coding."[14] Shepard warns that newsrooms' white males "feel threatened, frustrated and, in many cases, angry."[15] Other critics warn that new employees are unlikely to change newspapers' definitions of news: that the obstacles to change are overwhelming, and that new employees adapt to rather than change the system.

Much of the evidence supporting multi-culturalism is anecdotal, with several authors insisting that women have already changed newspapers' definitions of news. Geneva Overholser, editor of the *Des Moines Register*, is cited as an example. Overholser urged rape victims to speak out, and she won a Pulitzer Prize when a woman agreed to tell her story.[16]

Proponents of multi-culturalism argue that gays and lesbians are also making a difference. Karen Jurgensen of *USA Today* explains, "Our coverage of AIDS over the years has been immeasurably improved by the presence and active involvement of gay journalists in our newsrooms."[17]

Still, few studies have been systematic in their examination of the issue. Gibson examined lifestyle sections and found that male editors are "more likely to select gender-neutral content such as entertainment, health, and religion, while focusing less on more traditional women's content, such as fashion, society, and personal advice."[18]

Goodrick found that editorial writers are examining more women's issues "and that women editorial page staffers believe their presence is very important."[19] Bernt and Greenwald found that the views of gay and

lesbian journalists differ from those of senior editors.[20] Marzolf surveyed managing editors and found they believe that women are making a significant difference in "defining the news and expanding the range of topics considered news...."[21]

Still, many of the previous studies share a common limitation. Their authors surveyed journalists, asking their *impressions*. To determine whether their impressions are accurate, this study will ask journalism students to evaluate 18 news stories, including several that involve topics mentioned by the proponents of multi-culturalism.

Methodology

To obtain a large and varied sample, students enrolled in the introductory newswriting classes at three universities were asked to evaluate 18 stories, each typed on a separate sheet of paper.

Students were told to assume that stories which did not mention another location "occurred in your city or state 'today' or 'yesterday.'" All the stories were true but, to save time, students were given only the first three paragraphs of each. All 18 stories were in an envelope, and the stories' order varied from one envelope to another.

About half the stories concerned topics that proponents of multi-culturalism have suggested would receive more emphasis if newspapers employed more women and minorities: topics such as breast cancer, divorce, abandoned babies, interracial marriages, abortions, day care, disabilities, welfare, and a contest considered racist and sexist (See Appendix A).

Using scales of from "1" to "10," the students were asked to rate each story's importance, and also to indicate how likely they would be to publish it. (A pretest indicated that it was easier for students to use 10-point scales than to compare the stories with one another, ranking all 18 in importance. The pretest also revealed that students differentiated between a story's importance and the likelihood that they would use it.

Students considered some stories of little importance -- but great interest to the public.)

The students were also asked to indicate where in a paper they would place each story, and were given five options: (1) front page, (2) main news section, (3) local news section, (4) entertainment/feature section, and (5) would not use.

The students were asked four questions about themselves: their gender, year in school, major, and race. Finally, to determine their exposure to the media, the students were also asked: (1) how many journalism courses they had completed; (2) whether they had worked for a high school newspaper or yearbook; (3) whether they had worked for a college newspaper or radio or television station; (4) whether they had worked for a professional newspaper or radio or television station; and (5) whether they planned to work for a newspaper when they graduated.

Results

RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS. There were 94 respondents: 31.9% male and 61.7% female. (Not every set of percentages adds up to 100 because some respondents did not answer every question.) Forty-six percent listed their race as white; 38.3% as African-American; and 8.5% as Asian-American. Seventy-six percent were juniors or seniors.

The respondents were fairly evenly divided by major: 19.1% were majoring in news-editorial journalism, 24.5% in broadcasting, 20.2% in advertising/public relations, and 4.3% in other fields of journalism. Twenty-six percent were non-majors. Most of the news-ed majors indicated they planned news careers; only one of the broadcasting majors did.

Only 12.8% reported that they had not yet completed any college journalism courses. Twenty-eight percent had completed one or two, 25.5% three or four, and 26.6% five or more. One problem encountered in analyzing the data was that the minority students in the sample had taken significantly more courses than had the white students, a fact that

created something of a problem when trying to explain some of the differences in the findings.

Large numbers of the respondents had some media experience, often starting in high school. Thirty-eight percent had worked for their high school newspaper or yearbook, 39.4% for their college newspaper, and 18.1% for a college radio or television station. Nearly a fourth (22.3%) had worked for a professional (commercial) newspaper or radio or television station. Still, only 21.3% said they planned to work for a newspaper when they graduated.

DIFFERENCES RELATED TO GENDER. Overall, men and women students in the sample differed on the importance and/or likelihood that they would use five of the 18 stories. Men were more likely to publish stories about a call for English to be the official language, an illness among Native Americans in the Southwest, a Little Leaguer who was killed by a wild pitch and a law requiring divorcing couples with children to take parenting classes. Women, however, considered a story about a college fraternity's "ugly woman" contest more important than did the men in the sample. (See Table 1).

Table 1: Stories On Which Men and Women Differed

	Men	Women
English as Official Language (U)	3.3	4.3
Illness kills Native Americans (U)	2.8	3.8
Death of Little Leaguer (U)	3.3	4.4
"Ugly Woman" Contest (I)	5.9	5

Parenting classes after divorce (U)	3.9	4.9

U=likelihood of using story; I=importance of story

Both men and women rated the passage of the Brady bill as the most important story in the list and a story about breast cancer discoveries third. However, women considered the second most important story to be the one about the mother who killed her son's accused molester. Men ranked that story ninth.

Perhaps of more interest to editors concerned about diversity in their newsrooms, the men and women majoring in news-ed journalism differed on the importance or useability of three stories to a statistically significant level (and one other at a level that approached significance). Men were less interested than women in stories about parenting classes for the newly divorced, statehood for Washington D.C., and the shooting of an accused child molester by the victim's mother. Women were more likely to use a story about charges that campaign workers for a woman gubernatorial candidate made payments to suppress the black vote. (See Table 2).

Table 2: Stories on Which Men and Women News-ed Majors Differed

	Men	Women
Efforts to suppress black vote (U)	4.3	2.4
Statehood for Washington D.C. (I)	6.8	3.2
Mother kills alleged molester (I)	5.3	2.9
Parenting classes after divorce (I)	5.8	3.6

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Men news-ed majors ranked a story about the censorship of books in public high schools as the most important in the list, while men in general ranked it 10th. Woman majors put it in 16th place. A story about abandoned babies was women news-ed majors' pick as the most important. That story was ranked sixth by men majors and eighth by women in general.

Since men and women news-ed majors tended to disagree on different stories from the general population in the sample, we compared men and women news-ed majors with non-majors. Women news-ed majors differed from other women on several stories. Often the majors made judgments that might be considered more socially liberal or feminist. (See Table 3).

Table 3: Stories on Which Women News-ed Majors Differed From Other Women

	Majors	Non-majors
Efforts to limit abortion protests (I)	3.1	4.6
Obesity as disability (U)	3.8	5.1
Obesity as disability (I)	3.9	5
Babies abandoned in hospitals (I)	2.6	4.3
Babies abandoned in hospitals (U)	2.9	4.5
Efforts to suppress black vote (U)	2.4	4.2
Efforts to suppress black vote (I)	2.6	4.3
Increase in interracial couples (U)	4.7	6.0
Increase in interracial couples (I)	4.4	5.9

Parenting classes after divorce (U)	3.7	5.2
Parenting classes after divorce (I)	3.6	5.0
Welfare reform (U)	2.7	5.4
Welfare reform (I)	2.7	4.2
Statehood for Washington D.C. (U)	3.1	4.8
Statehood for Washington D.C. (I)	3.2	4.8

Male news-ed majors differed from male non-majors on two stories to a significant level. (See Table 4).

Table 4: Stories on Which Male News-ed Majors Differed From Male Non-majors

	Majors	Non-majors
Increase in interracial couples (I)	3.5	5.7
Condoms in the high schools (I)	2.5	4.2
Condoms in the high schools (U)	2	3.7

When respondents were grouped by whether they planned news careers, several of these differences disappeared. Men and women who planned to be journalists differed only on the story about parenting classes, with women considering it more important, 4.0 to 6.2.

Men who hope to work for the news media differed from other men on four stories. They appeared to lean more toward a socially liberal viewpoint than other men. (See Table 5).

Table 5: Stories on Which Men Who Planned News Careers Differed		
	News Career	Other
Increase in interracial couples (U)	3.3	6
Increase in interracial couples (I)	3.3	6
"Ugly woman" contest (I)	4.3	6.3
Abandoned babies (U)	2.7	3.8
Condoms in the high schools (I)	2.5	4.2
Condoms in the high schools (U)	2.2	3.8

The most striking finding was that although women news-ed majors differed from non-majors on several stories, there were no statistically significant differences between women who planned news careers and those who did not.

Several expected differences along gender lines failed to materialize. There were no significant differences in men's and women's attitudes about stories concerning day-care centers, breast cancer, or obesity, for example. Women did not consider those stories more important nor were they more likely to use them.

DIFFERENCES RELATED TO RACE. Four of the 18 stories explicitly mentioned race: reports of (1) alleged efforts to suppress black voter turnout in New Jersey, (2) the growing number of interracial couples, (3) an illness among Indians, and (4) the "ugly-woman" contest. Three other stories have been considered by some readers to have racial overtones: one about a constitutional amendment to make English this country's official language, one about efforts to grant statehood to the District of Columbia, and one about a New Jersey law intended to discourage mothers on

welfare from having more children after they begin receiving benefits.

Overall, African-Americans considered significantly more important than whites stories about the "ugly-woman" contest and about a woman who walked into a courtroom in Sonora, Calif., and killed a man accused of molesting her son. Blacks also considered the Little Leaguer's death more important, with the difference approaching significance. (See Table 6).

Table 6: Stories on Which Blacks and Whites Differed

	Whites	Blacks
"Ugly Woman" Contest	5.8	4.7
Death of Little Leaguer	5.4	3.6
Mother kills alleged molester	4.3	3

Blacks rated the story about the mother shooting the molester as the most important story in the list; whites rated it ninth. Both blacks and whites considered the story about the increase in interracial couples as the least important in the group.

More surprising, however, were the differences between black and white news-ed majors. They differed on half the 18 stories. (See Table 7).

Table 7: Stories on Which Black and White News-ed Majors Differed

	Whites	Blacks
"Ugly Woman" Contest (U)	5.7	2.9
Death of Little Leaguer (I)	5	2.1

Obese protected against job bias (U)	4.9	2.1
Obese protected against job bias (U)	5.7	3.4
Illness kills Native Americans (I)	3.8	1.9
Revisions in welfare system (I)	3.6	1.3
Efforts to suppress black vote (I)	3.6	1.6
Discoveries about breast cancer (U)	4.1	1.9
Parenting lessons after divorce (I)	4.9	2.9
Condoms passed out in high schools (I)	3.6	1.7

Black news-ed majors rated the story about welfare reform as the most important in the list and one about efforts to suppress the black vote second. White news-ed majors ranked welfare reform as the fifth most important and the voting scandal third.

Black news-ed students differed significantly from non-majors of their own race. Blacks disagreed on 14 of the 18 stories. (See Table 8).

Table 8 : Stories on Which Black J-Majors Differed From Black Non-majors

	Majors	Non-majors
"Ugly Woman" Contest (U)	2.9	5.3
Statehood for Washington D.C. (U)	2.6	4.8
Obese protected against job bias (U)	2.1	4.9

Obese protected against job bias (I)	2.7	5.0
Illness kills Native Americans (I)	1.9	3.7
English as official language (U)	2.3	4.6
English as official language (I)	2.4	4.7
Abandoned babies (I)	1.7	3.9
Abandoned babies (U)	2	4.1
Standards for day-care centers (U)	2.4	4.4
Limits on abortion protests (I)	2.7	4.6
Increase in interracial couples (U)	4	6.1
Revisions in welfare system (I)	1.3	4.3
Revisions in welfare system (U)	1.4	4.3
Efforts to suppress black vote (I)	1.6	4.4
Efforts to suppress black vote (U)	1.6	4.1
Discoveries about breast cancer (U)	1.9	3.8
Parenting lessons after divorce (I)	2.9	5.7
Parenting lessons after divorce (U)	3.1	5.2
Brady Bill passes (U)	1.9	3.6
Condoms passed out in high schools (I)	1.7	4.2

However, there were no statistically significant differences between white news-ed majors and white non-majors.

As happened when we grouped respondents by gender, we found fewer differences when we separated black and white students by whether they planned to work for the news media. (See Table 9).

Table 9: Stories on Which Blacks and Whites Who Plan J-Careers Differed		
	Whites	Blacks
Obese protected against job bias (I)	4.6	3
Obese protected against job bias (U)	4.4	2.2
Condoms in the high schools (I)	3.9	2.0
Parenting classes for the newly divorced (I)	5.1	3.4
Welfare reform (U)	3.6	1.6
Welfare reform (I)	4	1.4

IMPACT OF STUDENT PUBLICATIONS. The authors also conducted T-tests to determine whether the responses of students who worked for their high school newspapers and yearbooks differed from the responses of other students.

Compared to their classmates, the students with some experience in high school considered seven stories less important.[22]

There was an even more curious finding. Although overall students who worked on high school papers tended to consider many of the stories less important and less useable, that was not the case with news-ed

majors. There were no significant differences in the reactions to the 18 stories between news-ed majors who worked on high school papers and those who did not. However, there were differences in reactions to 11 of the stories between non-news-ed majors who worked on high school papers and those who did not. In every case, those with high school paper experience thought the stories were less important. It is difficult to discern any pattern in the stories' topics, but that may not be important. The important point seems to be that, as a group, students who do not plan to on a career in print journalism develop different news judgment while working on their high school papers than do those who do not work of them.

Thirty-seven of the subjects worked for their college newspaper, and their news judgment also differed from their classmates' -- but in the opposite direction.[23]

But again, news-ed majors showed more uniformity. They differed on only two stories: stories about welfare reform (2.1 to 4.3) and efforts to suppress the black vote (2.2 to 4.2).

STORY PLACEMENT. All 94 respondents were also asked where in a newspaper they would place each story. Due to the large number of cells and small N, the authors generally limited their analysis to the stories placed on Page 1. There were no differences by gender, but a few by race.

Minorities were significantly more likely to place two stories on Page 1: the story about New Jersey's welfare reform (32.5% vs. 4.8% for whites) and the story about a woman who shot the man accused of molesting her son (63.4% vs. 37.2% for whites).

Minorities were somewhat more likely to place a third story on Page 1: the story about attempts to censor books in the nation's public schools (12.2% vs. 2.3%). Whites, on the other hand, were somewhat more likely to put the story about the Brady bill on Page 1 (81.0% vs. 65.9%).

Other differences were more predictable.

Advocates of multi-culturalism have said that women would place more emphasis on stories about child care. One of the 18 stories reported that

the state legislature was likely to impose stricter requirements on day-care centers, and 5.7% of the women said the story should appear on Page 1, 41.5% said they would place it in their main news section, and 50.9% in their local news section. By comparison, 73.3% of the men said they would place the story in their main news section and 26.7% in their local news section -- none on Page 1, a significant difference.

Women were also significantly more likely to put the story about New Jersey's welfare reform on Page 1 (24.1% vs. 6.9%).

Men, on the other hand, were significantly different in their placement of the story about the censorship of books. Seven percent said they would place it on Page 1, 62.1% in their main news section, 3.4% in their local news section and 27.6% in their entertainment/feature section. Only 28.6% of the women said they would place the story in their main news section, 58% in their entertainment/feature section, and 2% on Page 1.

Similarly, only 29.2% of the men (but 58.0% of the women) said they would put a story about interracial couples in their entertainment/feature section.

Students who plan to work for a newspaper after they graduate differed from their classmates on one story. They considered the story about the number of interracial couples in America significantly more important (4.4 vs. 5.8).

REGRESSION ANALYSES. A series of regression analyses were run on the data. Given this study's small N and the number of variables, we believe these analyses in and of themselves may have little meaning. We report them only as another way of seeking trends in the data. For all students in the sample, the regression analysis suggested that the number of college courses the students had taken and whether they had experience on student papers were the best predictors of how they would judge many of the stories. High school experience was the best predictor of their ratings of five of the stories, college newspaper experience on four stories, and number of courses on three. For this sample of students, race

and sex were not predictors on any of the stories.

However, the news-ed majors in the sample responded differently. The analyses indicated that on three of the stories, the best indicator of how news-ed majors reacted to the importance of the stories was race. Those stories concerned the Little Leaguer's death, welfare reform, and condoms for high school students. Gender of the respondents was the best predictor of the story about the District of Columbia's bid for statehood. The number of news-ed courses that majors had taken was related to the importance they placed on stories about abandoned babies and efforts to suppress the black vote.

Conclusions and Discussion

Before reaching too many conclusions based on the present study, we should point out that this was a pilot study involving small numbers of students. No claim is being made by the authors that these findings are generalizable to the entire population. By the same token, although we reported differences between news-ed majors and non-majors, we recognize that the non-majors were students enrolled in news-ed classes. Most of them were majoring in fields allied to news-ed, like public relations, advertising or broadcasting. Clearly, we would not expect those students to be representative of all students who are not news-ed majors. But, mindful of these disclaimers, we think the findings may provide some questions to be considered in future studies.

Many newspaper managers want to increase the diversity in their newsrooms in hopes of making their newspapers more representative of their readers and potential readers. They believe one way of doing this is to increase the number of women and minorities in reporting and editing positions.

Our study provides some support for that position. In many cases, minorities and women did appraise differently the importance of stories and the likelihood that they would use them in the paper and play them on

Page 1. Occasionally, the stories that they differed on were not overtly race- or gender-related, further suggesting that they were making news judgments based on a different set of life experiences. This would seem to support the goal of media companies trying to increase diversity in their newsrooms.

However, the findings also present some problems to be considered.

For years, both media critics and apologists have complained that journalists seem out of touch with the rest of society. Among the reasons often cited for this are that journalists work odd hours, tend to socialize with each other and, at some papers, are limited by ethics policies that discourage community involvement. But the root cause of journalists being out of step may be more fundamental than that.

Earlier research has indicated that news-ed majors often differ from other communications students.[24] They tend to chose their careers at an earlier age and for different reasons, often more idealistic ones. Our study found considerable differences between the news judgment of news-ed majors and the other communications students in this sample. Researchers might want to look into this phenomenon to determine if these differences are the result of attitudes students have when they make their career choices or the result of their experiences in the news-ed classrooms and on student and professional publications. These studies might look into a curiosity hinted at in our findings: Students who planned careers in the news media showed even more similarities than did the news-ed-major group (which included majors who did not plan news careers).

Our study found that women news-ed majors occasionally displayed news judgment that differed from that of women who were majoring in related areas, although women who plan news media careers were not significantly different from the other women. We also found that African-American news-ed majors' judgments occasionally differed from black non-majors. This raises questions about the success of efforts of media managers who hire women and minority journalists to make their papers more

responsive to the interests of women and minority readers. A question that may need to be explored is whether female and minority journalists are just as out of step with their peers as white journalists are alleged to be.

To determine whether any of these concerns are justified, this pilot study should be followed up with (1) studies with larger samples that might be more readily generalized to the general populations involved, (2) studies of professional news people to see if women and minorities in newsrooms do react differently to the set of stories, and (3) studies to see if these judgments are representative of non-journalistic populations. These findings could be tied to studies of the development of the attitudes and news values of people who go into journalism.

Endnotes

1. "Dailies' Gender Gap Widens." Presstime, May 1993, p. 20.

2. Karen Jurgensen. "Diversity: A report from the battlefield." Newspaper Research Journal, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Spring 1993), p. 85.

3. Joan Lester. "Whose 'objectivity' are we getting?" USA Today, Sept. 1, 1993, p. 11A.

4. David Shaw. "Negative news and little else." The Quill, May 1991, p. 18.

5. Marilyn E. Gist. "Minorities in Media Imagery." Newspaper Research Journal, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer 1990), pp. 52-63. SEE ALSO: "Look In To Reach Out" by Carolyn Terry. Presstime, April 1993, pp. 49-51. SEE ALSO: "Changes in Newspaper Images of Black Americans" by Carolyn Martindale. Newspaper Research Journal, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Winter 1990), pp. 40-50.

6. Shaw. "Negative news and little else," p. 17.

7. David Lawrence Jr. "Broken Ladders, Revolving Doors." Newspaper Research Journal, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Summer 1990), p. 19.

8. David Shaw. "Black, white, read all over?" The Quill, May 1991, p. 20.

9. Cole C. Campbell. "Multicultural staffs are a matter of good business." ASNE Bulletin, May/June 1993, p. 15.

10. "Women: Minor Figures in News." Presstime, May 1993, p. 30. SEE ALSO: "Showdown At Gender Gap" by Karen Schmidt and Colleen Collins. American Journalism Review, July/August 1993, p. 39. SEE ALSO: "Women and newspapers" by Kristin McGrath. Newspaper Research Journal, Vol. 14, Nov. 2 (Spring 1993), p. 95. SEE ALSO: "Is It A Man's Newspaper?" by Mark Fitzgerald. Editor & Publisher, Jan. 15, 1994, p. 19.

11. John McCormick. "Making Women's Issues Front-Page News." Working Woman, October 1991, p. 80. SEE ALSO: "Are women in journalism making a difference?" by Joan Konner. ASNE Bulletin, October 1990, p. 22.

12. Leroy F. Aarons. "Alternatives: Gays & Lesbians in the Newsroom. Newspaper Research Journal, Vol 11, No. 3 (Summer 1990), pp. 38-49. SEE ALSO: "Differing Views of Senior Editors and Gay/Lesbian Journalists Regarding Newspaper Coverage of the Gay and Lesbian Community" by Joseph P. Bernt and Marilyn S. Greenwald. Newspaper Research Journal, Vol. 13 and 14, No. 4 and 1 (Fall 1992/Winter 1993), pp. 99-110.

13. "A City Room of Many Colors." Newsweek, Oct. 4, 1993, p. 82.

14. Quoted in "Political Correctness In The Newsroom" by Mark Fitzgerald. Editor & Publisher, Oct. 16, 1993, p. 9.

15. Alicia C. Shepard. "High Anxiety." American Journalism Review, November 1993, p. 19.

16. Sylvia Paine. "Geneva." Washington Journalism Review, September 1990, p. 22.

17. Jurgensen, "Diversity: A report from the battlefield," p. 89.

18. Rhonda Gibson and Elizabeth K. Viall. "Difference in Content Selection by Male and Female Newspaper Lifestyle Editors." Paper presented to the Newspaper Division at the AEJMC Southeast Colloquium in Tuscaloosa, Ala., March 25-27, 1993, p. 9.

19. Evelyn Trapp Goodrick. "Editorial Writers' Approaches to Selected Women's Issues." Newspaper Research Journal, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Summer 1991), p. 29.

20. Bernt and Greenwald. "Differing Views of Senior Editors and Gay/Lesbian Journalists Regarding Newspaper Coverage of the Gay and Lesbian Community," p. 101.

21. Marion Tuttle Marzolf. "Women Making A Difference In The Newsroom." Paper presented to the Commission on the Status of Women in Journalism and Mass Communication at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 11-14, 1993, p. 8.

22. Those seven stories concerned: abandoned babies (approaching significance at 4.4 vs. 3.5), higher standards for child day-care centers (significant at 4.9 vs. 3.6), harassment and intimidation at abortion clinics (significant at 5.1 vs. 3.7), passage of the Brady bill (significant at 3.9 vs. 2.6), the illness that killed nine people in the Southwest (significant at 4.4 vs. 3.4), and pesticides' role in breast cancer (significant at 4.6 vs. 2.9).

23. Subjects who worked for their college newspapers ranked two of the stories significantly more important: stories about the Little Leaguer's death (3.4 vs. 4.8) and the court's ruling that a fraternity had a constitutional right to stage an "ugly-woman" contest (4.7 to 5.8). They also considered five other stories more important, but not quite significantly so. These included the alleged effort to suppress black voter turnout (3.1 to 4.2), an increase in the number of interracial couples (5.0 vs. 5.9), babies abandoned by their parents (3.2 vs. 4.3), the illness that killed nine people in the Southwest (3.0 vs. 4.0), and the report that Los Angeles approved giving condoms to high school students (3.2 to 4.3).

24. Ron F. Smith. "A Comparison of Career Attitudes of News-Editorial and Ad-Pr Students," Journalism Quarterly, 64:555-560 (1987).

Appendix A

List of 18 Stories

1. The House of Representatives voted 227-153 today against admitting the nation's capital as the 51st state.
2. Political strategist Ed Rollins today said payments were made to suppress black voter turnout in New Jersey's election for governor.
3. Health officials are investigating a mysterious illness that killed at least nine people, including seven Indians, living on reservations in the Southwest.
4. Common pesticides are emerging as key suspects in the dramatic three-decade rise in the incidence of breast cancer.
5. Attempts to censor books in the nation's public schools increased dramatically last year, according to a report by People for the American Way.
6. Beginning on the first of next month, all divorcing parents in the county will be required to enroll in a class about the harm divorce inflicts upon children.
7. Thousands of babies across the country have been abandoned in their hospital cribs by parents unwilling or unable to take them home.
8. A Little Leaguer hit in the chest by a wild pitch collapsed at home plate and died 45 minutes later.
9. The number of interracial couples in American nearly doubled in the past 12 years, and more than one out of every 50 marriages now crosses the boundaries of race, the Census Bureau says.
10. A 40-year-old mother walked into a courtroom in Sonora, Calif., and shot the man accused of molesting her son.
11. Abortion providers today called on the federal government to halt what they describe as anti-abortionist terrorism, harassment and intimidation of clinics and workers.
12. A federal appeals court today upheld the constitutional right of a George Mason University fraternity to stage an "ugly-woman" contest that some students found racist and sexist.
13. Congress will begin debate tomorrow on a constitutional amendment that would make English the official language of the United States.
14. A bill that would require higher standards for child daycare seems a safe bet for easy passage. The measure would set new staffing, space, and education requirements for the state's 5,309 child-care facilities.
15. Being extremely overweight is a disability covered under federal antidiscrimination law, a federal appeals court ruled yesterday.
16. A weary Congress ended its deadlock and passed the Brady bill yesterday, requiring a five-day waiting period and a background check on handgun buyers.
17. Los Angeles, the nation's second-largest school district, has narrowly approved giving condoms to all high school students except those whose parents object in writing.
18. New Jersey Gov. Jim Florio today signed a welfare overhaul package that backers claim would discourage mothers from having more children after they begin getting benefits.